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### MICHAEL CLEEK.

The ancestor of the Cleek relationship in Pocahontas County was Michael Cleek, who was one of the earlier pioneers to occupy the attractive portion of the Knapps Creek valley adjacent to Driscoll, and came from Bath County. His wife was Margaret Henderson Crawford, whose father was from Lancaster, Pa., and lived in Bath County, near Windy Cove.

Michael Cleek opened the lands comprised in the Peter L. Cleek, William H. Cleek, and Benjamin F. Fleshman properties—the persons just named being his grandchildren. With the exception of two or three very small clearings, it was a primitive, densely unbroken forest of white pine and sugar maple. He built a log cabin on the site of the new stable, and some years subsequently reared a dwelling of hewn timber, now the old stable at Peter L. Cleek's. The late John Cleek, father of Peter and William, and who was the oldest of the family, could just remember when his parents settled here. They came out by the way of Little Back Creek, crossing the Alleghany Mountain opposite Harper's. His mother carried him in her lap, horseback, all the way from Windy Cove.

Michael Cleek's family consisted of three sons, John, William, and Jacob; and three daughters, Elizabeth, Barbara, and Violet.

Elizabeth married Jesse Hull, of Anthony's Creek. Their children were William Crawford, John, who died in the war; Jesse, Andrew, Mrs Margaret Mc-

Dermott, on Little Anthonys Creek; Mrs Eveline Fleshman, Mrs Alcinda Stephenson, of Bath County; and Mrs Charlotte Fertig, of Anthonys Creek.

Barbara and Violet, the other daughters of the pioneer Michael Cleek, died in early childhood of the "cold plague," and their brother Jacob died of the same disease, aged eighteen years.

William Cleek never married, and spent most of his life with his brother John. The attachment these brothers had for each other was noticed and admired by all their acquaintances. They never seemed so well contented as when in each others company. His wit and good humor was remarkable. If all his funny harmless anecdotes could be recalled and written up, the result would be a very humorous book indeed, and nobody's feelings wounded thereby. He could be facetious without hurting any one's feelings—a gift rarely possessed by humorists. He told most of his jokes on himself.

It now remains to make further mention of John Cleek, the eldest son of William Cleek's pioneer home. He married Phoebe Ann Lightner, a daughter of Peter Lightner.

John Cleek spent his life on the home farm. His family consisted of three sons, Peter Lightner, William Henderson, and Shelton Washington. The daughters were Mary Ann, Caroline Elizabeth, Alcinda Susan, Margaret Eveline, and Eliza Martha.

Mary Ann was first married to Josiah Herold. She was left a widow, and afterwards married William C. Hull. Her daughters are Mrs Patterson Poage and

Mis Tokey Hull.

Caroline Elizabeth married the late Lanty Lockridge.

Alcinda Susan married Hugh Dever, and is now in Nebraska.

Margaret Eveline married Renick Ward, late of Randolph County, and lives in Colorado.

Shelton W. Cleek died in infancy.

William H. Cleek married Margaret Jane Fleshman. He died in 1899.

Peter L. Cleek married Effie May Amiss. The pleasant home occupied by them is near the original site, across the valley from the public road, and near the foot hills of the Alleghany. Formerly the main road passed by the old Cleek homestead, crossing and recrossing the valley for the convenience of the residents. Thus the traveler would cover a good many miles in making but little progress in direct distance, as matters were in former times.

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### THOMAS McNEIL,

The McNeil relationship on Swago trace their ancestry to Thomas McNeil, who came to Swago from Capon Valley, Frederick County, between 1768 and 1770. His parents, whose names can not be recalled, came from Scotland. Thomas McNeil's wife was Mary Ireson, from Franklin County, Virginia.

About 1770 Thomas McNeil entered three hundred acres of land and settled where Joseph Pennell now lives, and built the house occupied a few years since by the family of the late William McNeil, one of his

tle while changed to sadness. The entire family were seized with the fever, and David, Nancy, and Sally were borne to their graves very soon, one after the other. Long as Solomon Conrad lived the memories of that sad home coming seemed to over shadow his spirit, and imparted a tone of subdued sadness to his demeanor. In mature life he made a profession of his trust in Christ and lived devoutly, honestly, and consistently.

There is much reason for believing that Browns Mountain and Browns Creek derive their names from Solomon Conrad's father-in-law, John Brown, late of Montgomery County, elsewhere referred to.

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### MICHAEL DAUGHERTY.

Among the early permanent settlers of Knapps Creek, and a person of some prominence in county affairs was Michael Daugherty. He was a native of Ireland and came from Donegal, and settled here about 1770. The property he owned is now in possession of Peter L. Cleek, William L. Harper, and the Ruckman sisters Margaret and Nancy. Mrs Daugherty was Margaret McClintic, whose parents lived near Staunton, Virginia. They were the parents of seven children, four daughters and three sons.

Their daughter Martha became Mrs John Frame and lived in Nicholas County.

Isabella Daugherty was married to William Nicholas and lived on Douthards Creek. The late Thomas Nicholas, on the Indian Draft, was one of her sons.



Elizabeth Daugherty became Mrs Adam Sharatt and located on the Greenbrier three miles above Marlinton, where he built a mill, traces of which yet remain. The dam remained long after the mill went out of use and went to ruins. It was finally destroyed as a nuisance. A more substantial structure of the kind perhaps was never constructed anywhere in this region. Thence the Sharatts went to Jacksons River, near the headwaters.

Margaret Daugherty married William Ruckman and first lived in Highland, afterwards came to Knapps Creek to the old homestead. In reference to her family we have the following particulars:

Isabella Ruckman died at the age of fourteen years. Mary Ann Ruckman, a very sprightly, interesting person, was an invalid from her early youth, and died but a few years since. Two other daughters, Margaret and Nancy Ruckman, live on the homestead. Michael Daugherty Ruckman married Jane Minter, of Cumberland County, Virginia, and settled near Mingo, in Randolph County. Thomas Ruckman married Mary Minter, and settled in Cumberland County. Mrs Mattie Riggleman is his only surviving child. Samuel Ruckman married Elizabeth Hall, near the Big Spring of Elk, and settled in Randolph County. Mrs Lula Swecker and her sister Ardely Ruckman are her children. Jesse Ruckman died at the age of thirteen years.

In reference to the sons of Michael Daugherty, the pioneer, whose names were John, Samuel, and William, we have this information: John Daugherty went to Kansas soon after its admission into the Union, mar-

ried Margaret Clark, and settled in that State. Samuel Daugherty died in early youth at the old home on Mill Run. William Daugherty married a Miss Collins and after living a few years on Knapps Creek, went to Wythe County, Virginia. Wellington G. Ruckman, who now lives near Sunset, is a great-grandson of Michael Daugherty.

It is believed that Michael Daugherty built the first tub mill, propelled by water power, anywhere in this whole region. The site was on Mill Run, near Sunset and some traces of it yet remain. This mill seems to have been patronized by all sections of upper Pocahontas, and had the reputation of being one of the best of its kind.

It may be news to many of our esteemed readers that there was a "real old Irish gentleman" among those who endured the toils, privations, and perils that were peculiar to the early occupancy of this region, yet such appears to be the fact, as attested by authentic tradition. He grew to manhood having the privileges and advantages enjoyed by the sons of the Irish landed gentry. As far as possible he wished to have aristocratic usages in his home on the frontier. He was one of the few settlers that attended sales in Stanton or Culpepper Courthouse, where the services of passengers were put up at auction in order to secure the charges for transportation from foreign ports. If a passenger could pay all charges himself and show a receipt for the same, it became his patent of nobility in the new world; but if he could not, it seems he could not make good his claim to be one of "the qual-

ity," some of us people used to hear so much talked about. In those old times when Michael Daugherty was living, if a person could pay his own way across the ocean, and hire or purchase the services of such as were less fortunate, then he was one of "the quality." As he was able to do both, then Michael Daugherty was one of the first of the new fledged nobility that occupied the Knapps Creek region.

With the notions peculiar to the Irish gentry, their young people felt it was essential to their comfort to have servants come and go at their bidding. Such a domestic arrangement was a pleasant shade in summer and a good warm fire in winter. The tradition is that Michael Daugherty was one of the first to enjoy the shade alluded to and the winter fires.

It is believed by his descendants that his father had designed his son Michael for the Catholic priesthood, and with a view to this had given him special educational advantages. Before receiving holy orders, the father died. It appears that in arranging the affairs pertaining to the settlement of the estate, in some way a serious disagreement arose between Michael and his step mother, and he thereupon received a portion of the goods allotted him and he came to America, and seems to have been lost sight of the Donegal Daughertys. It is believed with good reason that could Michael Daugherty's descent have been shown to the satisfaction of the Irish Court of Claims, that his West Virginia heirs would have come in for a handsome share of the ancestral legacies.

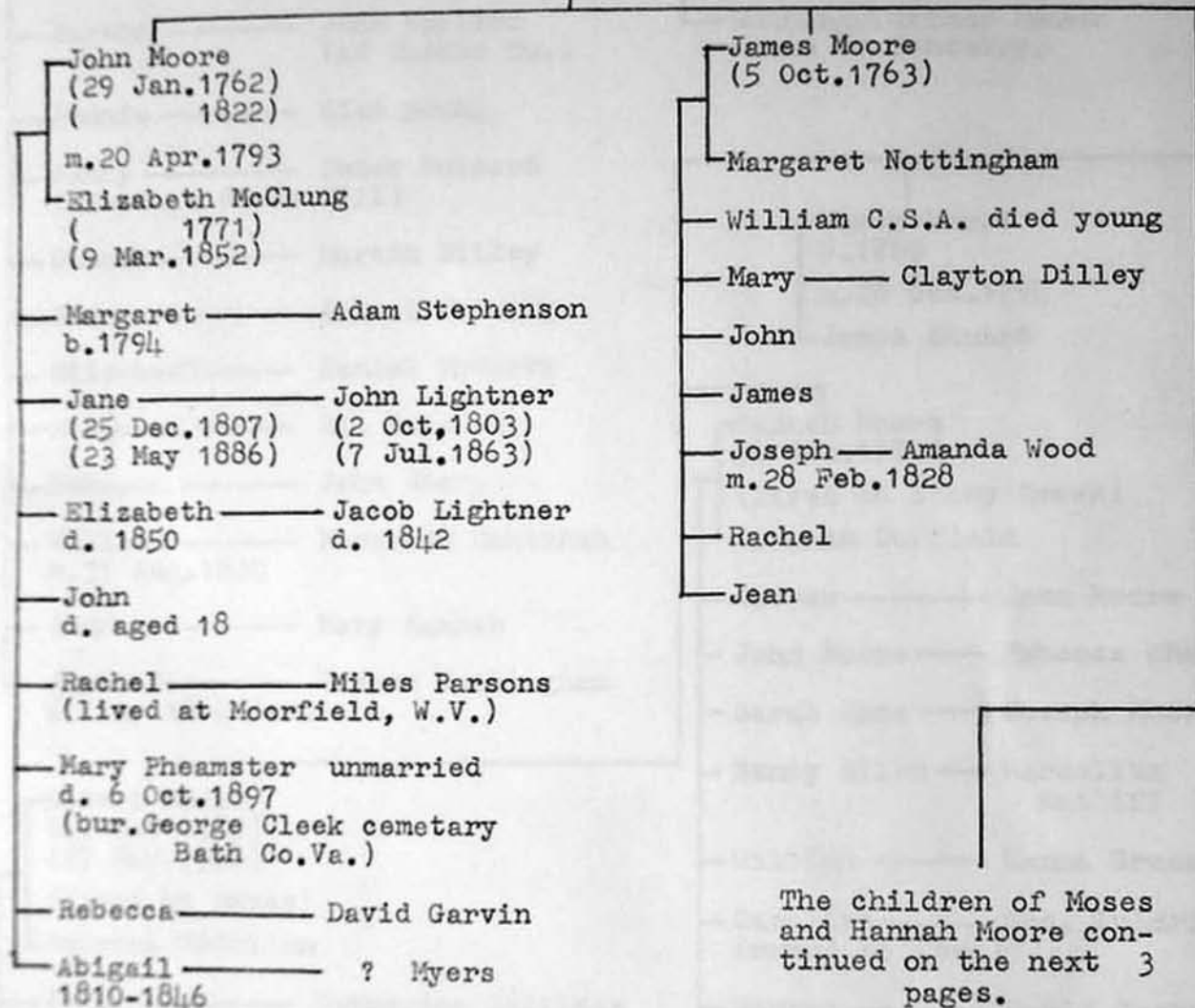
COUNTY ANTRIM - IRELAND

CAPT. MOSES MOORE SR.  
1686--1758

JANE

JOHN RISK

MARGARET

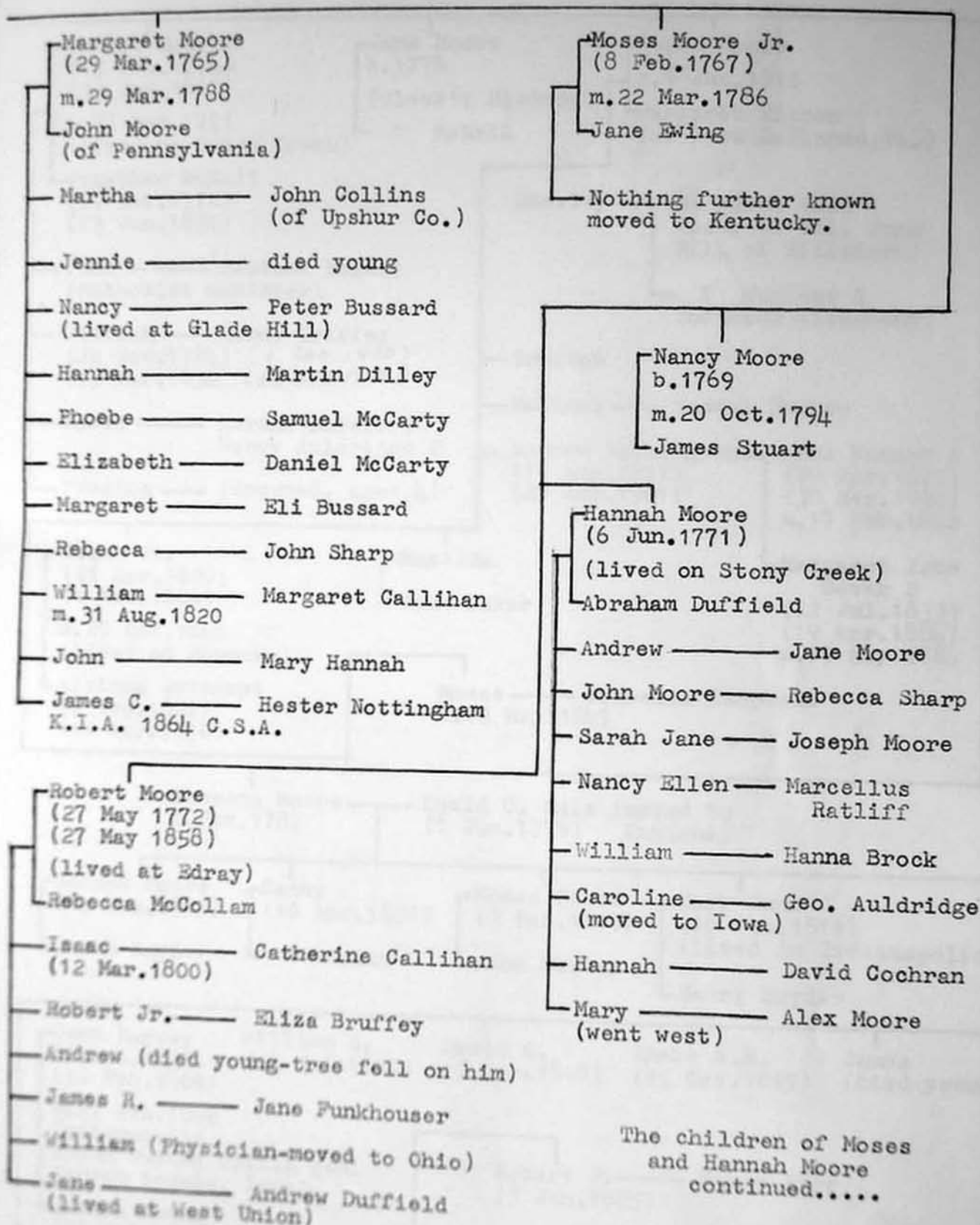
MOSES MOORE  
Pioneer  
1737 - 1812HANNAH RISK \*  
1740 - 1810  
m. 8 Nov. 1761

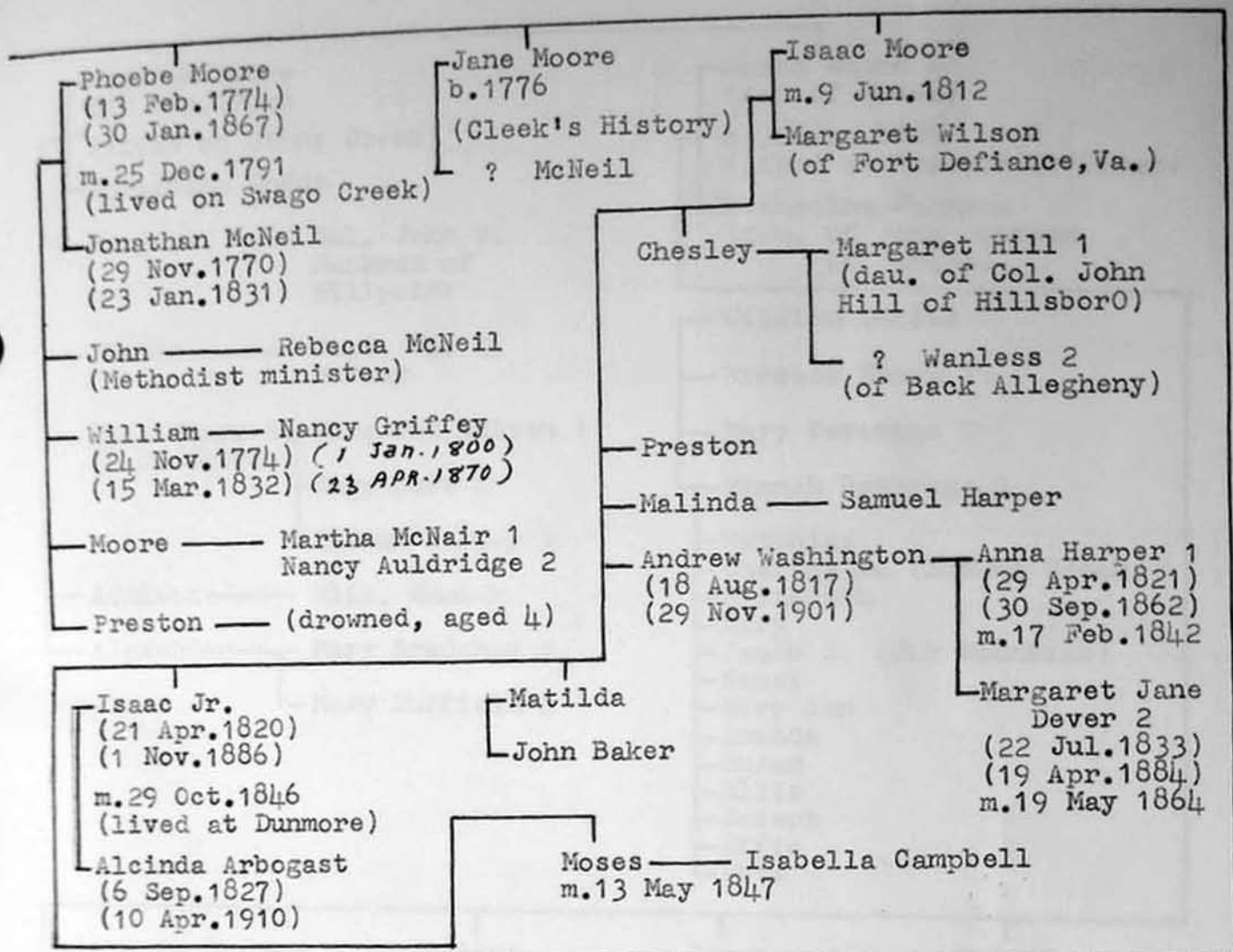
e William T. Price in his, "History of Pocahontas County", says that Moses Moore married a Miss Elliot. His evidence for this is family memory going back over one hundred years and Andrew Washington Moore, a grandson, who was 83 when he was interviewed by Price in 1900.

George W. Cleek in, "Early Western Augusta Pioneers", says that Moses Moore's wife was Hannah Risk.

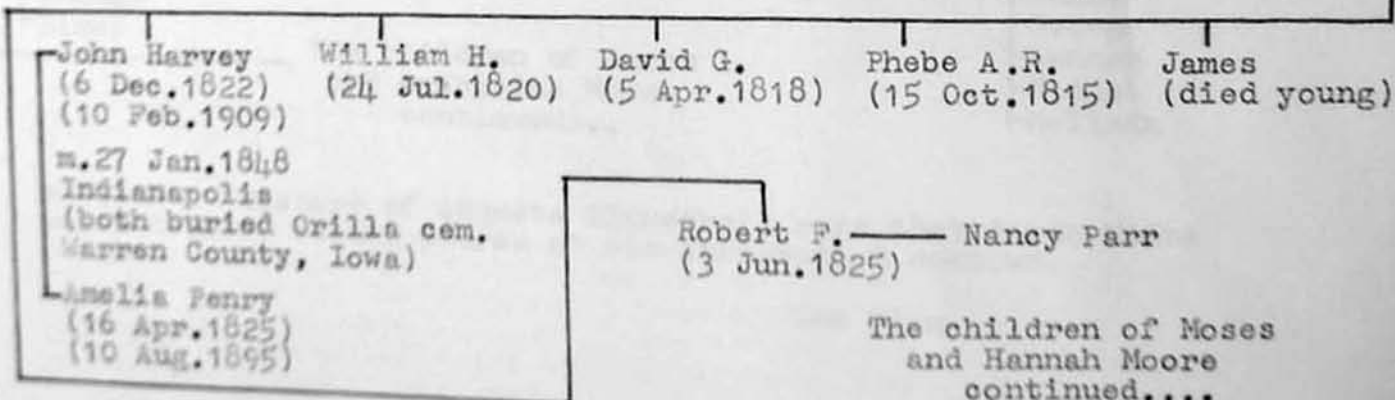
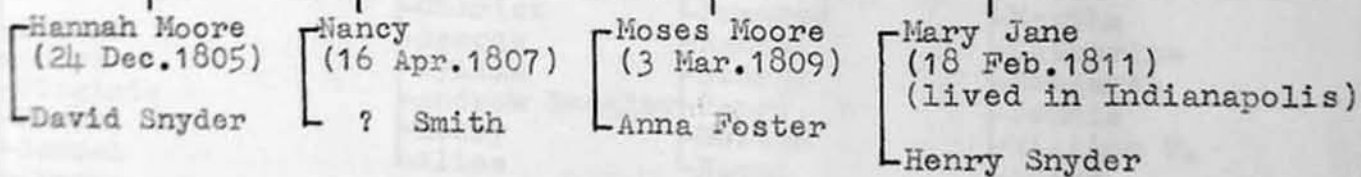
Lyman Chalkey in, "Abstracts From The Records of Augusta County", points out that John Risk, of Timber Ridge, in his will of 1775 names Hannah Risk Moore. Chalkey's Records also names John Risk the father-in-law of Moses Moore. It is noteworthy that Moses Moore named a daughter Hannah while two other daughters called their children by the same name, possibly to honor their mother.

Tom King

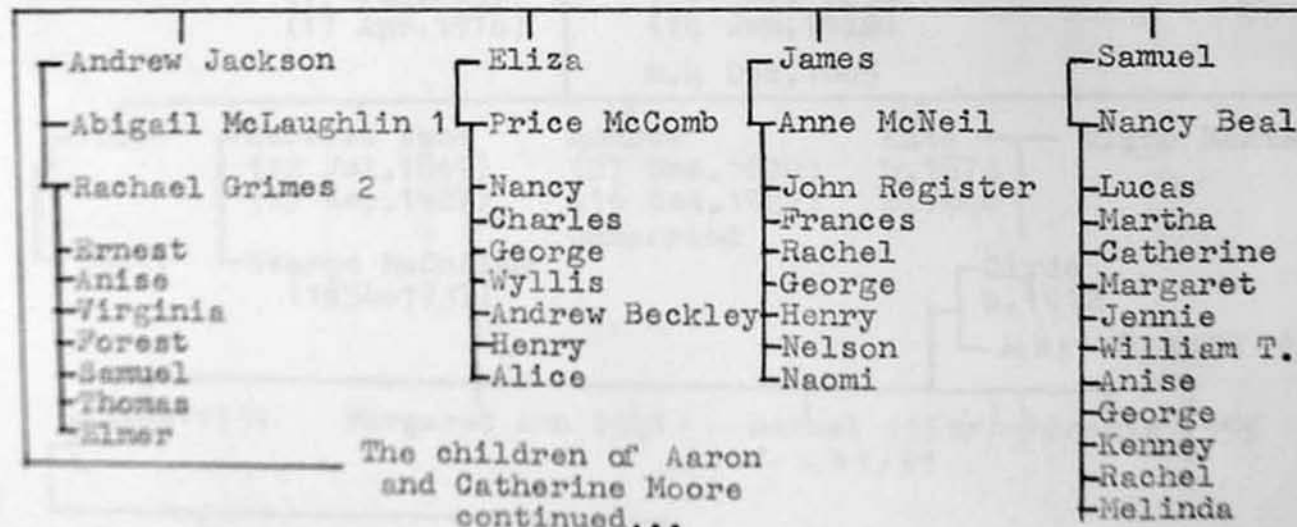
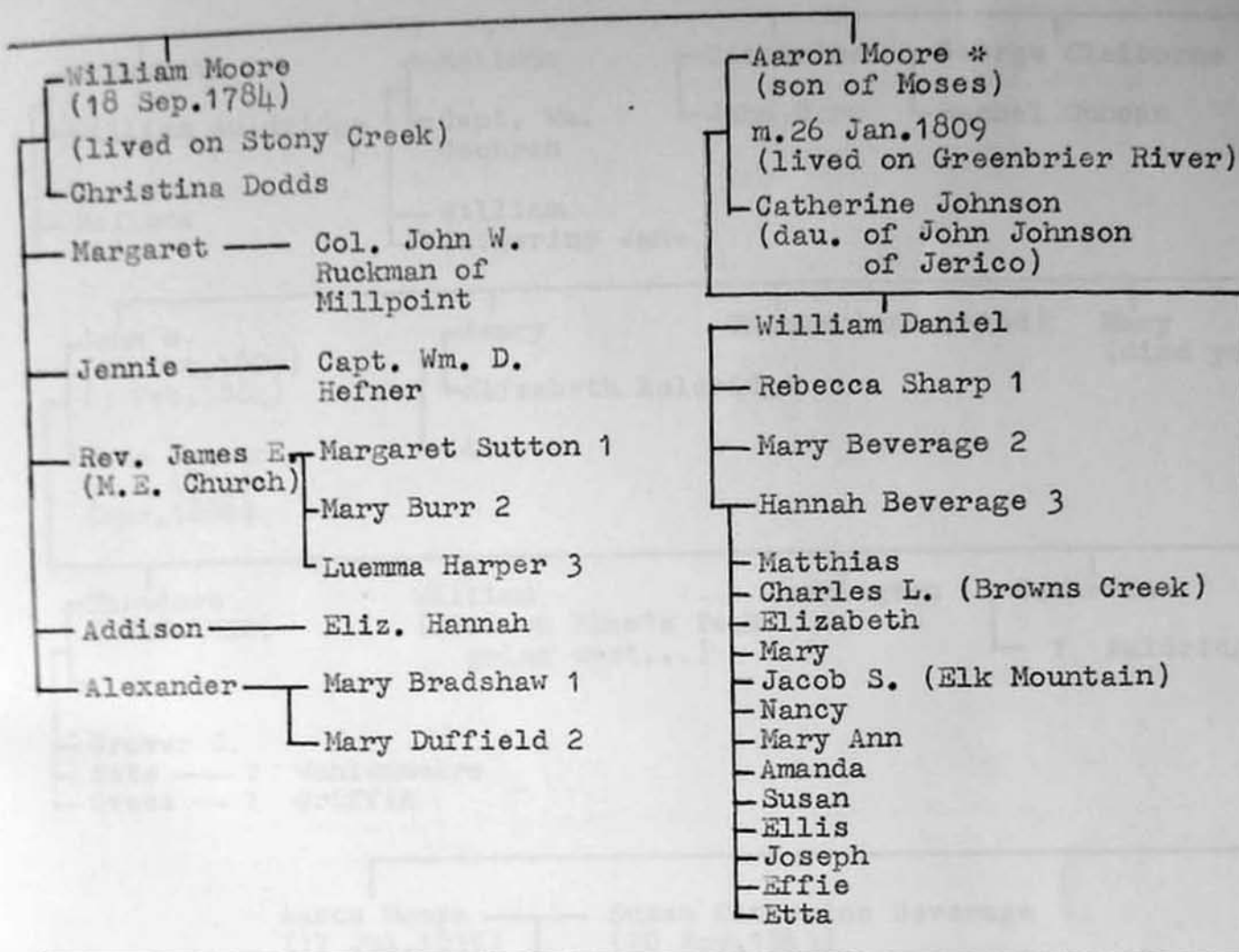




Rebecca Moore — David C. Gale (moved to  
b. Feb. 1782 (1 Jun. 1779) Indiana)

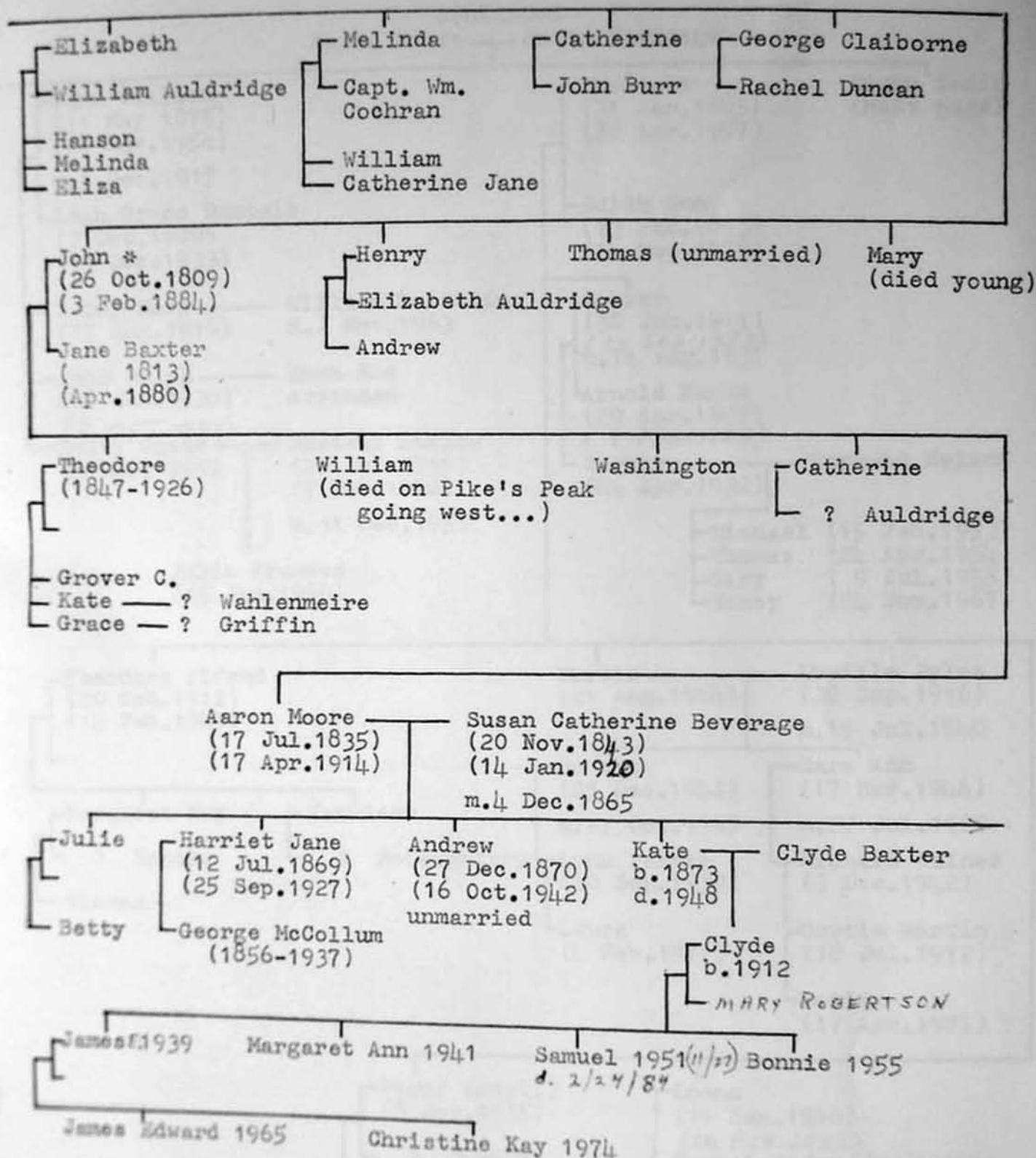






\* Clegg's "History of Augusta Pioneers", says that Aaron Moore was a twin of Isaac. Source of his information unknown.

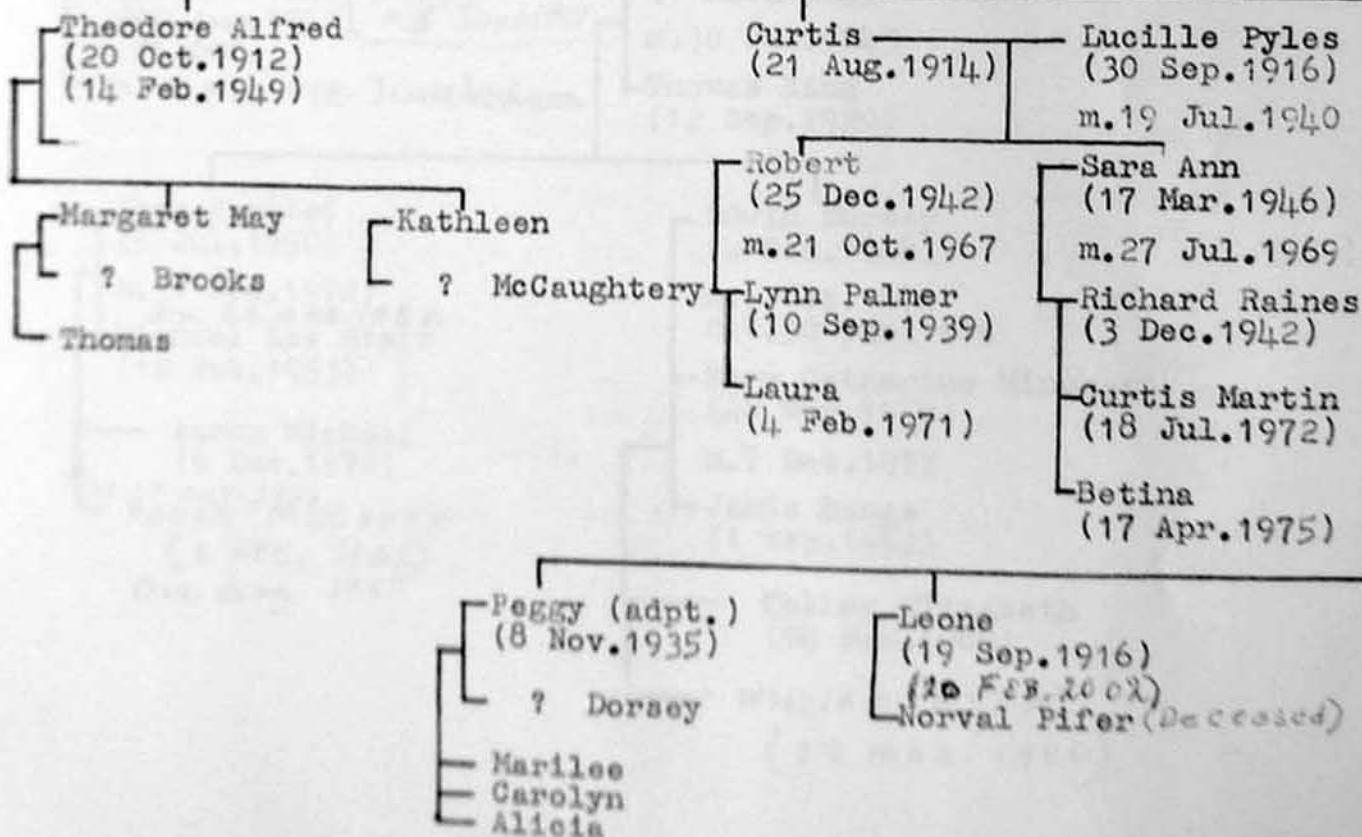
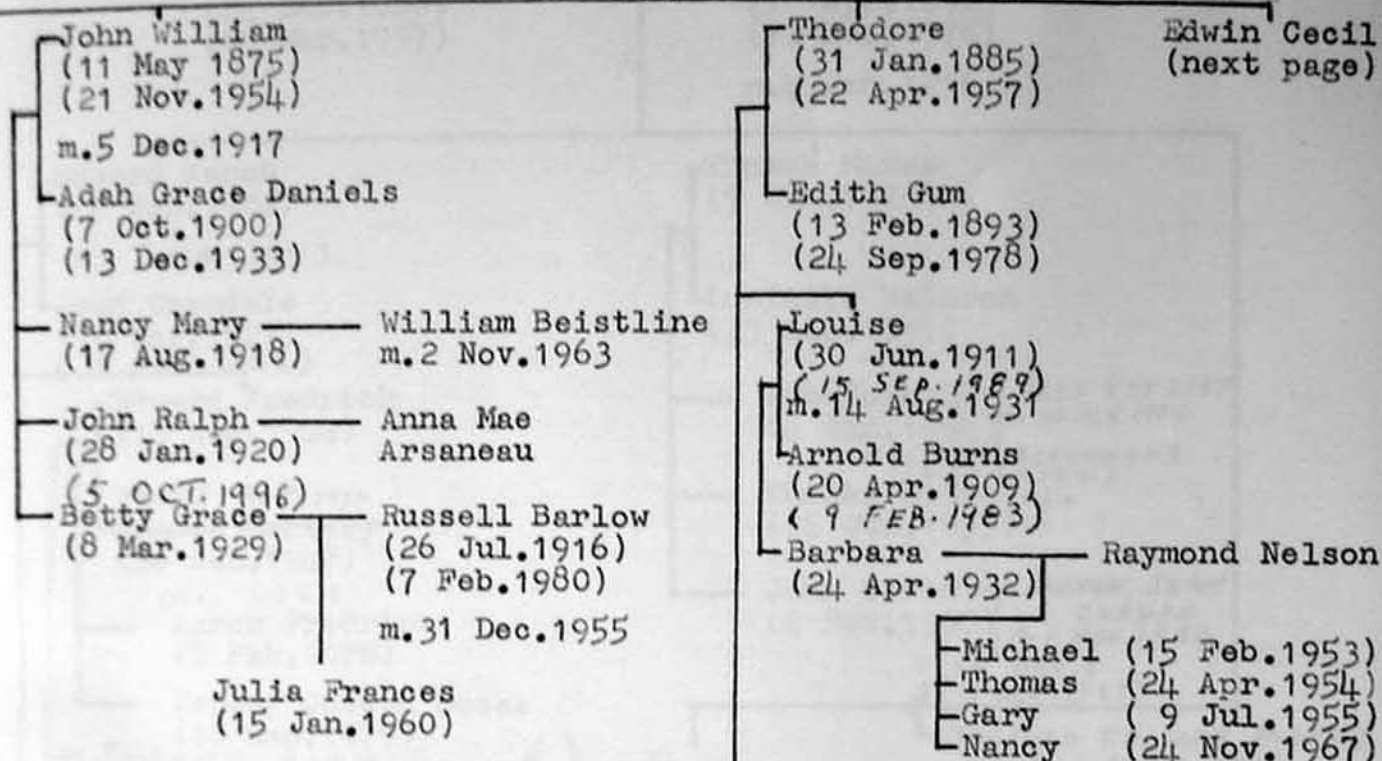
Tom King



\* John Moore was the eldest child of Aaron and Catherine. He acquired the Johnson property on Jerico Road, one mile north of Marlinton, through his mother. He is buried on the property on land now owned by the Pocahontas Development Co. and used as a quarry. His son Aaron is also buried in this family cemetery. The farm is presently owned by Thomas Moses Moore, the fourth generation to hold this land.



continued  
 Aaron Moore — Susan Beverage



Edwin Cecil Moore  
(24 Dec. 1888)  
(10 Mar. 1957)

Ola Inez Shaffer  
(1 Apr. 1892)  
(13 Dec. 1978)  
m. 4 Jan. 1916

Edward Aaron  
(22 Jan. 1922)

m. 7 MAY 1943

Jean Oxendale  
(10 Mar. 1921)  
(4 AUG. 1982)

Edward Fredrick  
(15 Aug. 1944)

JANET RYKOSKEY  
Janice Rokisky  
(24 Jan. 1947)

Div. 1984

Aaron Fredrick  
(8 Feb. 1978)

Jeremy Joseph Moses  
(10 Sep. 1979)

JOANNE MARIE RAUCH  
Barbara Jane (10.23. NOV. 1953)  
(40 Aug. 1952) m. 5 June 1987  
11 OCT.

m. 13 MAY 1988 - Jim Woodson

Thomas Moses  
(9 Jun. 1925)

Lucielle Waldron  
(23 Sep. 1931)

Ann Cornell - JEFF RAYLIFF  
(4 Jan. 1954) m. 30 JUL. 1990

CHRISTIN GLENN MORE  
(b. 9 JUL. 1991)  
Thomas Moses Jr.  
(26 Jun. 1955)

John David SHARON JEAN  
(2 Feb. 1960) JORDAN  
m. 1 NOV. 1980

JOHN DAVID  
(13 DEC. 1987)

JOSHUA THOMAS MOORE  
(16 MAY 1992)

Inez  
(1 Mar. 1923)  
m. 30 Jul. 1943  
Thomas King  
(12 Sep. 1920)

Inez Harriet  
(5 Jul. 1950)

m. 31 Dec. 1972

div. 26 MAR. 1982  
Michael Lee Starr  
(12 Feb. 1953)

Aaron Michael  
(9 Dec. 1978)

10 OCT. 1977  
ROGER M. CARTY  
(6 DEC. 1962)  
Div. Aug. 1997

Edwin Dorsey  
(4 Dec. 1948)

m. 1 Oct. 1971  
div. 30 Jun. 1975

Mary Catherine Minehart  
(28 Nov. 1950)

m. 7 Oct. 1977

Janis Bangs  
(1 Sep. 1952)

Kelly Elizabeth  
(14 Mar. 1980)

WILLIAM RYAN  
(28 MAR. 1985)

Inscription on the Moses Moore marker located four miles north of Minnehaha Springs, West Virginia on State Rt. 92.

1776

1776

MOSES MOORE  
1738 - 1812

Pioneer hunter, trapper, soldier, patriot and Indian captive.

Moses Moore came from Timber Ridge, Rockbridge County, Virginia about 1770, and settled here on a huge tract of land that he purchased from a man named Ewing for the sum of two steel traps and two pounds of English Sterling.\* In May, 1758, while on one of his hunting trips, he was captured by the Indians at a place now called "Mosey Spring", near Cass, West Virginia. He was taken to an Indian Village near Chillicothe, Ohio, where he spent many months as a prisoner before he escaped.+ Moses returned to Rockbridge County, Virginia, where he was married on November 8, 1761. He served during the Revolutionary War (in 1780) as a Private under the command of Colonel George Rogers Clark. Prior to that time he had served with the Virginia Militia during Dunmore's War. His children, as established from records and memory, were John, James, Margaret, Moses Jr., Hannah, Robert, Phebe, Rebecca, William, Aaron, and Isaac.

The original Moses Moore cabin was located approximately 500 feet from this marker at a bearing of South 105 degrees East.

#### Notes:

\* "Moses tract was four lineal miles of the Knapps Creek Valley, (Ewing's Creek), and extending back into the hills on either side for a considerable distance. His cabin was located midway on this tract so that he could look after it". Quote from Genevieve Moore at dedication of M.M. marker. 13 July 1980.

+ The exact location of Moses' captivity should not be taken for granted. In the Ohio Valley dialects of the eighteenth century "Chillicothe" meant simply, "Indian village". A study of old maps of the Valley showing Indian settlements reveals several locations labeled with this name.

In the following picture of the marker a small hole has been made just off the upper left corner of the stone to locate the homesite of Moses Moore.



excerpted from the  
HISTORY OF POCAHONTAS COUNTY W. VA.  
William T. Price  
Pub. Marlinton, W. Va.  
1901

MOSES MOORE

Moses Moore, the progenitor of the largest relationship of the name in the county, came from what is now Timber Ridge, Rock-bridge County, Virginia. About 1760 he was married to a Miss Elliot, a member of another Timber Ridge family. Their children were John, born January 29, 1762; James, born October 5, 1763; Margaret, born March 29, 1765; Moses Jr., born February 8, 1769; Hannah, born June 6, 1771; Robert, born May 27, 1772; Phebe, born February 13, 1774; and William, born September 18, 1784.

At the time of the Drennan raid, when James Baker and the Bridger boys were killed, Moses Moore was living on Swago, in sight of what is now the McClintic homestead. Phebe, his youngest daughter, remembered how the family refuged to the fort at Mill Point, and while the Drennans and Moores and others were passing around the end of the mountain they heard the firing at the Bridger Notch, when the boys were killed. This would make it 1786 when James Baker, the first school teacher in Pocahontas County was killed.

During the first years of his pioneer life in our region, he spent much of his time hunting and trapping along the Back Allegany, upper Greenbrier River, and Clover Lick vicinity. He was a close observer of Indian movements, and would make a careful search for Indian signs before resuming operations as the hunting seasons returned. The usual place for the Indians to cross the Greenbrier, in the hunting grounds mentioned, was at a passage narrow enough for them to vault over on a long pole. He would take notice accordingly which side of the river the vaulting-pole would be on, and act accordingly. Finally the Indians seemed to have found out his strategy, and thereupon vaulted the narrow passage and cunningly threw the pole back to the other side.

This threw the hunter off his guard. It was Saturday; he set his traps, looked after the deer signs, and arranged his camp. The venerable William Collins, yet living (1901), is sure that the camping spot was on what is now the Charlie Collins place, on the Greenbrier above the Cassell fording, at a place near Tub Mill where he was captured by the wily Indians.

It was the hunters purpose to pass the Sabbath at his camp in quiet repose and devotional reading of the Bible he carried about with him for company. He had put a fat turkey to roast about daylight, and was reclining on a bear skin reading a lesson from the Word, preparatory to a season of meditation and prayer before breakfast, a habit so characteristic of the Scotch-Irish at that period. He was interrupted by the breaking of a stick, and upon looking intently and steadily in the direction whence the sound seemed to have come he saw five or six warriors aiming their guns and moving cautiously upon him.

Seeing there was no chance of escape, hemmed in as he was, he threw up his hands and made signs for them to come to him. He put the turkey before them and made signs for them to eat. By

gestures and guttural gruntings they gave him to understand that they would not touch it unless he would eat some first. He did so, and thereupon they devoured it reverently, and it was notime that scarcely a fragment remained, even of the bones.

Soon as breakfast was over, they started for their home in Ohio. Having passed but a few miles, they halted at what the pioneers afterwards called the Mosey Spring. The spring- one of the most copious and beautiful of its kind- is near the residence of the late David McLaughlin, four or five miles up the Back Allegany road from Driftwood. The prisoner was securely bound with buffalo thongs and pinioned to the ground. A detachment went off in the direction of Driftwood, and were absent two or three hours. When the party returned they were loaded down with ore. This was carried to a place, where another halt was made and the ore was smelted and reduced in weight, so that one could carry what had required two to bring in as raw material.

The prisoner was taken as far as Chilacothé, and the Indians seemed to have been greatly elated over their capture. So much so that as a special compliment to their lady friends it was decided in solemn council of inquiry what to do with the prisoner, that the captive should run the gauntlet. The Indians seemed to have known of nothing so intensely amusing than running the gauntlet, and of no compliment more flattering to their favorite lady friends that have them to form the gauntlet lines, and leave it to them to torment the captive. Accordingly two lines of squaws were drawn up about six or eight feet apart. One captive had preceded Moore, who was stabbed, bruised and hacked to pieces. This made him think it was only death any way. He entered the line and passed some distance, finally a squaw with a long handled frying pan struck him. He wrenched the pan from her and knocked her down with his fist and then striking left and right with the handle of the frying pan, he proceeded along the line, and many of the other squaws ran away. When Moore had scattered them, the warriors crowded around him, patted and praised him, "good soldier," "good soldier", and decided that he should be allowed to live. By degrees he secured the confidence of his captors. In hunting he was very successful and the Indian who was his keeper would give him ammunition, a part of which he would secret. The supply of ammunition was gradually increased, and the time given him to be absent was extended two or three days. With this increase of rations of powder and bullets and extension of time, he ventured to make an escape, and got a start so far ahead that the Indians could see no hopefull chance of recapturing him.

It is nothing but just to remark Moses Moore is one of the pioneers of this county who will be among those longest remembered in the future by those interested in our pioneer literature. Moses Moore's descendants have probably cleared more land than any other family connection; some of them have been and are prominent in public affairs. The following particulars were mainly furnished by the venerable Andrew Washington Moore, one of his grandsons, now (1901) in the 83rd year of his age, residing on Knapps Creek and occupying a part of the old ancestral homestead.

About 1770 Moses Moore settled on Knapps Creek, known at that period as Ewing's Creek, and so named in some of the old land papers. Traces of the original cabin remained in the meadow near



the old orchard contiguous to Washing Moore's present residence. The tract of land purchased by Moses Moore from one Mr. Ewing, for the consideration of two steel traps and two pounds of English sterling, extended from Andrew Harold's to Dennis Dever's gate by the roadside below the Francis Dever homestead. Besides other improvements, Mr. More built a mill on Mill Run, quarter of a mile from Isaac Brown Moore's.

#### The Daughters of Moses Moore

Margaret Moore, remembered as a very estimable person, married John Moore, a native of Pennsylvania, and they lived where David Moore now resides. Her daughter Hannah was married to Martin Dilley, Esq. and lived where Mrs. Martha Dilley, relict of the late Andrew Dilley, now lives.

Her son, William Moore, married Miss Calahan of Bath County, and settled where Jefferson Moore, her grandson, now lives, whose wife was a Miss Grimes.

Margaret Moore's son, James C. Moore, married Miss Notingham, and lived on land now occupied by his widow and son William. This excellent man was a Confederate soldier and died in battle near New Hope, Augusta County, Virginia, June 1864.

Another of Margaret's sons, John by name, married a Miss Hannah, of Elk, daughter of Dr. John Hannah, ancestor of the Pocahontas Hannahs, and lived on the home place, now held by David Moore. A grandson, Joseph Moore, lives between Frost and Glade Hill. Near his residence the spot is pointed out where Rev. Henry Arbogast was slain during the Civil War.

Hannah Moore, daughter of Moses, was married to Abraham Duffield, on Stony Creek, the ancestor of the Pocahontas Duffields.

Phebe Moore, another daughter, became Mrs. Jonathan McNeill on Swago. She was a person highly esteemed for her piety, sound sense, and business energy. For years she attended the mill, one of the best of its kind at that time-in the twenties and thirties. Sometimes the mill would have to run day and night, to supply the custom and avoid grinding on the Sabbath day. There used to be a saying that, "an honest miller has hair on the palm of his right hand". Were this a fact, Aunt Phebe's right hand would have been more hairy than Esau's would have been.

There was a Rebecca Moore, who was married to a Mr. Cole, and lived in Rockbridge.

#### The Sons of Moses Moore

Robert married a Miss McCollam and lived at Edray where William Sharp now lives. Rev. George P. Moore is a great-grandson of Moses Moore, also Samuel B. Moore, both residents of Edray.

Aaron Moore lived on Greenbrier, three or four miles above Marlinton. His wife was Catherine Johnson, daughter of John Johnson, who lived on the Jerico place, a mile north of Marlinton. Charles L. Moore on Brown's Creek, and Jacob S. Moore, on Elk are great-grandsons of Moses Moore, the pioneer.

Moses Moore, Jr. emigrated to Kentucky. William Moore married Christina Dods, of Rockbridge County, and lived on Stony Creek on the place now occupied by the family

of the late Dr. Page Carter.

Their daughter, Margaret, became the wife of the late Colonel John W. Ruckman of Mill Point.

Another daughter, Jennie, was married to Captain William D. Hefner, who died in battle at Lewisburg during the War.

Their son, the Rev. James C. Moore, was a widely known Methodist minister.

John Moore, another son of the pioneer, married a Miss McClung, of Greenbrier County, and settled at Mt. Vernon, Knapps Creek. Their daughter Jennie married John Lightner, near Hightown, Highland County. Another daughter, Elizabeth, became Mrs. Jacob Lightner, and lived where the late Francis Dever had his home. There was a son, John Moore, who died aged 18 years.

Isaac Moore, son of Moses, settled near the old home now occupied by I. B. Moore. His wife was Margaret Wilson, from the vicinity of the Old Stone Church, Augusta County. Their children were Chesley, Preston, Malinda, who became Mrs. Samuel Harper; Washington, Matilda, who became Mrs. John Baker, Isaac, Jr., and Moses.

Chesley married a daughter of the late Colonel John Hill, for whom Hillsboro is named. After her death Chesley married Miss Wanless, on Back Allegany.

Andrew Washington Moore first married Anna, daughter of Henry Harper, of Sunset, and settled on a part of the Knapps Creek homestead. His second marriage was with Margaret Jane, daughter of the late John Dever, of Highland County.

Isaac Moore, Jr. lived at Dunmore. He and a citizen named Dunkum bought from Andrew G. Mathews his fine farm and divided it. Out of their names they coined the word Dunmore and so named the post office, which had previously been named Mathewsville. Isaac Moore married Alcinda Arbogast, daughter of the late William Arbogast of Green Bank. Their daughters were Mrs. George H. Moffett, of Parkersburg; and the late Mrs. Dr. Charles L. Austin of Green Bank. Their sons are C. Forrest, Harry, Earnest, and Rice. Earnest is Sheriff of Pocahontas County. Judge C. Forrest Moore resides at Covington, Va. He presided at the trial of Goodman for fatally shooting, at Gladys's Inn, Va., Colonel Parsons, the proprietor of the Natural Bridge. At present he is the attorney for the Covington Paper Mills. He has been largely instrumental in bringing the varied resources of our county into practical notice. Forrest Depot is named for him.

Moses Moore lived on the home place. His wife was Isabella, daughter of Thomas Campbell of Highland County, and still survives her lamented husband, who was a person eminent for his christian character. She has her home with her son, J. Brown Moore, who was recently (98-99) a member of the West Virginia Legislature.

The study of pioneer history is deeply interesting, and very beneficial when the reader traces the lines of descent, and duly reflects upon the contrast of what has been and what is now. By doing so intelligently, we are prepared to some extent to realize what is due the memory of those whose bravery, industry, and self denial made it possible for us to have the comforts we now enjoy.

As long as the Moores retain their characteristic industry, prudent economy, honesty in their dealings, and pious proclivities, they will be a blessing to our county in the future, as they have been in the past, and are now.

MOSES MOORE WILL  
Will Book #1, Page 510  
Bath County Virginia

I Moses Moore being of sound mind and memory doth make my last will and testament in way and manner following that is to say after resigning my body to the grave and my soul to God I do give and bequeath my worldly goods in way and manner following. I do give and bequeath unto David Kayles that part of land lying on the Little Calf Pasture in Rockbridge County not given or willed to any person heretofore provided said David Kayles do give unto my daughter Phebe McNeel the sum of two hundred pounds good and lawful money of Virginia to be paid at the expiration of five years, one fifth part of the above sum must be paid down and bond and approved security given to my administrator. I do also give and bequeath unto Hannah Dilley and Jean Moore my granddaughters that trak of land lying on the Allegany Mountain, Bath County to be equally divided between them. I do further give and bequeath unto my daughter Margaret Moore my Negro boy named Eddie, to her sole use and purpose. I do further give unto my daughter Margaret my sorrel horse already in her custody. I do likewise give and bequeath unto my son Isaac Moore all my stock of cattle which amounts to fifteen head, likewise three head of horses with one saddle and bridle. I do also give and bequeath unto Robert Moore my son all that sum of money due me for the rent of my land in Rockbridge County after paying all debts, dues and demands. I do also bequeath unto my son John Moore the sum of ten shillings. I do also give and bequeath unto Hannah Duffell the sum of ten shillings. I do bequeath unto my son William Moore the (sum) of ten shillings. I do bequeath unto my daughter Jean McNeel the sum of ten shillings. I do likewise give and bequeath unto Aaron Moore the sum of ten shillings. I likewise bequeath unto my son Moses Moore the sum of ten shillings. I also appoint Levi Moore and Robert Moore my two friends administrators of this my last will and testament given from under my hand this ninth day of June in the year of our Lord 1812.

MOSES MOORE

Teste:

Alex S. Waugh

Chas. Grimes

Samuel Waugh

Bath County September Court 1812

This last will and testament of Moses Moore, dec'd. was presented in Court and proved by the oaths of Alexander S. Waugh and Samuel Waugh, two of the subscribing witnesses thereto and ordered to be recorded.

Teste: Charles Cameron, Clk.



12 July 1980

Visited the Moore family cemetery located within the working perimeter of the large rock quarry presently owned by the Pocahontas Construction Company on the Jerico Road near Marlinton, West Virginia. We found four gravestones there bordered by a wire fence in bad repair. The inscriptions on the stones are as follows:

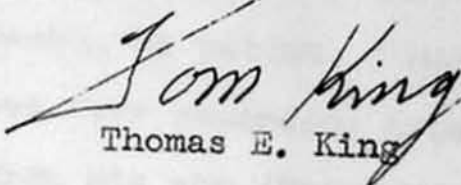
In Memory of  
my father  
Aaron Moore  
Born July 17, 1835  
Died April 17, 1914  
MOORE

In memory of our Mother  
Susan C. Moore Wife of  
Aaron Moore  
Nov. 20, 1843  
Jan. 14, 1920  
Fold her, O Father in thine  
arms and let  
her henceforth be a messenger  
of love  
between our human hearts and  
thee,

JOHN MOORE  
Born Oct. 26, 1809  
Died Feb. 3, 1884  
  
an honest man

In Memory of  
My Mother  
JANE MOORE  
Born 1813  
Died Apr.  
1880

There was further evidence on one infant burial in the form of an erect field stone. No inscription.

  
Thomas E. King

## SOME THOUGHTS ON MOSES MOORE

During the past fifteen years I have studied the life and times of Moses moore in the following publications. The History of Pocahontas County W. VA. by William T. Price, 1901; The History of Pocahontas County West Virginia, 1981; Moses Moore, SR. and some descendants by Osee Johnson Knouf; Abstracts from the Records of Augusta County, Virginia by Lyman Chalkey; Early Western Augusta Pioneers by George W. Cleek; Annals of Augusta County Virginia by Joseph A. Waddell; and some thoughts from George Douglas McNeill in May 1958.

Herewith are my thoughts based on family speak, legal records, and some conjecture on my part.

The record is complicated by the fact that in the latter half of the eighteenth century there were three Moses Moores, all active. I will call them Moses Moore, Sr. Moses Moore, Pioneer, and Moses Moore, Jr.

In 1752 Moses Moore, Sr.(note 1) took up land on Ewings Creek,( later called Knapps Creek), by patent. I have found no evidence that this patent was ever recorded; however, it is mentioned in a later deed from his son,(Moses Moore, Pioneer) to his grandson, Aaron Moore,(note2). This land was close to the holdings of James Ewing.

At this date (1752) Moses Moore, Sr. was about 65 years old; his son, Moses Moore, Pioneer, at home on Timber Ridge was only 15. The Greenbrier Valley, inhabited by unfriendly indians and predatory animals, was a vast wilderness. James Ewing had taken up land only the year before and Jacob Marlin and Stephen Sewell had spent the winter of 1750 here.

In 1754 the French and Indian War broke out making it difficult for the English settlers to maintain a foothold in the Valley. The dividing line between the Virginia settlements and the wilderness was the Jackson River. Moses Moore, Pioneer, often crossed this river to hunt and fish. On one occasion he ran out of luck and was captured by the indians just as he entered the wilderness, he was 21 years old and single, (note 3). He was taken by his captors to one of the chilcothe villages west of the Ohio River where he remained for an undetermined length of time. I suspect that he was still a captive when his father died in November of the same year, (1758), at the age of 72, (note 1).

It is certain; however, that he had escaped the indians in 1761 because on November 8th of that year he married Hannah Risk, daughter of John Risk of Timber Ridge, (note 4).

With the death of Moses Moore, Sr. in 1758 the land on Knapps Creek became vacant. In 1763 the French and Indian War ended with the Treaty of Paris and the French lost all of their holdings in North America except for the Louisanna Territory.

King George III ordered all settlers west of the Alleghenies to vacate their lands in order to pacify the indians. This order was largely disobeyed until the Clendennin Massacre, after which the Greenbrier Valley was almost devoid of whites until 1769.

James Ewing left his homestead on Knapps Creek and retreated back across the mountains. He returned to the Greenbrier Valley in 1770 and in the same year came Moses Moore, Pioneer, a man of 33 with five children to take up the unre-

corded patent of his father which had lain vacant for twelve years.

A difference of opinion arose between Moses and Jim Ewing as to the validity of this landholding and Moses gave Mr. Ewing two steel traps and two pounds sterling to help him see the wisdom of his claim.

I do not know how much land Moses Moore, Pioneer, finally held on Knapps Creek but judging from his will and other out-conveyances during his lifetime I will guess from 1000 to 1500 acres. He also owned land on Allegheny Mountain and the Little Calfpasture River in Virginia.

So, what happened to Moses Moore, Jr? Beginning in 1805 there were several out-conveyances from him until a final one in 1813. "From Moses Moore and Grizzella Moore, his wife of Bath County, State of Kentucky, 406 acres of land on Greenbrier River". Nothing further is known.

TOM KING

March 1, 1995

1250 BRIERCLIFF ROAD  
BRIDGEPORT, W.V. 26330



Note 1. Moses Moore, born about 1686, died Nov. 1758. "appraisers appointed for Moses Moore, decd. in Green Brier(sic). Nov. 17, 1758." Abstracts from the Records of Augusta County, Virginia by Lyman Chalkley. Vol. 1, page 82.

Note 2. 10 July, 1792. Moses Moore to Aaron Moore, 218 acres on the waters of Greenbrier River on Knapps Creek granted to Moses Moore by patent dated 28 April 1752. Bath County, July Court 1792. Deed Book 1, page 56.

Note 3. "Moses Moore taken prisoner by indians, Jackson River." Chalkley's Augusta Records; Vol 2, page 512. Also noted in Annals of Augusta County, Virginia by Joseph A. Waddell, page 158.

Note 4. "Moses Moore vs. Samuel Cloyd, five pounds. Be pleased to pay unto John Risk, my Father-in-Law, that money you owe me for I have empowered him to act for me in my absence". Feb. 5, 1766 signed Moses Moore. Chalkley's Abstracts, Vol. 1, page 355, also Early Western Augusta Pioneers by George W. Cleek.

Special Note. In the eighteenth Century and before the terms Junior, and Senior were not used as they are today. They could mean Father and Son, Uncle and Nephew, or even Big and Little in a physical sense.

leg was amputated. He recovered, and lived a number of years thereafter, a busy man of affairs. He died "serene and calm," April, 1840, in the 89th year of his age.

In the Richmond Dispatch, April 14, 1901, it is stated that the last survivor of the Point Pleasant veterans was Ellis Hughes, who passed away at Utica, O., in 1840, over ninety years of age. In early manhood he may have lived in the Lower Levels of our county. Now if it was known what month Huges died in, it could be decided who was the last one of the veterans to bivouac in those "silent tents" that Glory "guards with solemn round."

### MOSES MOORE.

Moses Moore, the progenitor of the largest relationship of the name in the county, came from what is now Timber Ridge, Rockbridge County, Virginia. About 1760 he was married to a Miss Elliot, a member of another Timber Ridge family. Their children were John born January 29, 1762; James, born October 5, 1763; Margaret, born March 29, 1765; Moses, Jr., born February 8, 1769; Hannah, born June 6, 1771; Robert, born May 27, 1772; Phebe, born February 13, 1774; William, born September 18, 1784.

At the time of the Drennan raid, when James Baker and the Bridg'er boys were killed, Moses Moore was living on Swago, in sight of what is now the McClintic homestead. Phebe, his youngest daughter, remembered how the family refuged to the fort at Mill Point, and while the Drenanns and Moores and others were

passing around the end of the mountain they heard the firing at the Bridger Notch, when the boys were killed. This would make it 1786 when James Baker, the first school teacher in Pocahontas, was killed.

During the first years of his pioneer life in our region, he spent much of his time hunting and trapping along Back Alleghany, upper Greenbrier River, and Clover Lick vicinity. He was a close observer of Indian movements, and would make a careful search for Indian signs before resuming operations as the hunting seasons returned. The usual place for the Indians to cross the Greenbrier, in the hunting grounds mentioned, was at a passage narrow enough for them to vault over with a long pole. He would take notice accordingly which side of the river the vaulting-pole would be on, and act accordingly. Finally the Indians seemed to have found out his strategy, and thereupon vaulted the narrow passage and cunningly threw the pole back to the other side.

This threw the hunter off his guard. It was Saturday; he set his traps, looked after the deer signs, and arranged his camp. The venerable William Collins, yet living (1901), is sure that the camping spot was on what is now the Charley Collins place, on the Greenbrier above the Cassell fording, at a place near Tub Mill where he was captured by the wily Indians.

It was the hunter's purpose to pass the Sabbath at his camp in quiet repose and devotional reading of the Bible he carried about with him for company. He had put a fat turkey to roast about daylight, and was reclining on a bear skin reading a lesson from the Word.

preparatory to a season of meditation and prayer before breakfast, a habit so characteristic of the Scotch-Irish at that period. He was interrupted by the breaking of a stick, and upon looking intently and steadily in the direction whence the sound seemed to have come he saw five or six warriors aiming their guns and moving cautiously upon him.

Seeing there was no chance to escape, hemmed in as he was, he threw up his hands and made signs for them to come to him. He put the turkey before them and made signs for them to eat. By gestures and guttural gruntings they gave him to understand that they would not touch it unless he would eat some first. He did so, and thereupon they devoured it ravenously, and it was no time that scarcely a fragment remained, even of the bones.

Soon as breakfast was over, they started for their home in Ohio. Having passed but a few miles, they halted at what the pioneers afterwards called the Mossey Spring. The spring—one of the most copious and beautiful of its kind—is near the residence of the late David McLaughlin, four or five miles up the Back Alleghany road from Driftwood. The prisoner was securely bound with buffalo thongs and pinioned to the ground. A detachment went off in the direction of Driftwood, and were absent two or three hours. When the party returned they were loaded down with ore. This was carried to a place, where another halt was made and the ore was smelted and reduced in weight, so that one could carry what had required two to bring in as raw material.



The prisoner was taken as far as Chilacothé and the Indians seemed to have been greatly elated over their capture. So much so that as a special compliment to their lady friends it was decided in solemn council of inquiry what to do with the prisoner, that the captive should run the gauntlet. The Indians seem to have known of nothing so intensely amusing than running the gauntlet, and of no compliment more flattering to their favorite lady friends than have them to form the gauntlet lines, and leave it to them to torment the captive. Accordingly two lines of squaws were drawn up about six or eight feet apart. One captive had preceded Moore, who was stabbed, bruised and hacked to pieces. This made him think it was only death any way. He entered the line and passed some distance, finally a squaw with a long handled frying pan struck him. He wrenched the pan from her and knocked her down with his fist and then striking left and right with the handle of the frying pan, he proceeded along the lines, and many of the other squaws ran away. When Moore had scattered them, the warriors crowded around him, patted and praised him, "good soldier," "good soldier," and decided that he should be allowed to live. By degrees he secured the confidence of his captors. In hunting he was very successful and the Indian who was his keeper would give him ammunition, a part of which he would secret. The supply of ammunition was gradually increased, and the time given him to be absent was extended two or three days. With this increase of rations of powder and bullets and extension of time, he ventured to make escape, and got a

start so far ahead that the Indians could see no hopeful chance of recapturing him.

It is nothing but just to remark Moses Moore is one of the pioneers of this county who will be among those longest remembered in the future by those interested in our pioneer literature. Moses Moore's descendants have probably cleared more land than any one family connexion; some of them have been and are prominent in public affairs. The following particulars were mainly furnished by the venerable Andrew Washington Moore, one of his grandsons, now (1901) in the 83rd year of his age, residing on Knapps Creek and occupying a part of the old ancestral homestead.

About 1770 Moses Moore settled on Knapps Creek, known at that period as Ewing's Creek, and so named in some of the old land papers. Traces of the original cabin remained for years in the meadow near the old orchard contiguous to Washington Moore's present residence. The tract of land purchased by Moses Moore from one Mr Ewing, for the consideration of two steel-traps and two pounds of English sterling, extended from Andrew Herold's to Dennis Dever's gate by the roadside below the Francis Dever homestead. Besides other improvements, Mr Moore built a mill on Mill Run, quarter of a mile from Isaac Brown Moore's.

#### The Daughters of Moses Moore.

Margaret Moore, remembered as a very estimable person, married John Moore, a native of Pennsylvania, and they lived where David Moore now resides. Her daughter Hannah was married to Martin Dilley, Esq.,

and lived where Mrs Martha Dilley, relict of the late Andrew Dilley, now lives.

Her son, William Moore, married Miss Calahan, of Bath County, and settled where Jefferson Moore, her grandson, now lives, whose wife was a Miss Grimes.

Margaret Moore's son, James C. Moore, married Miss Nottingham, and lived on land occupied by his widow and son William. This excellent man was a Confederate soldier and died in battle near New Hope, Augusta County, Va., June 1864.

Another of Margaret's sons, John by name, married a Miss Hannah, of Elk, daughter of Dr John Hannah, ancestor of the Pocahontas Hannahs, and lived on the home place, now held by David Moore. A grandson, Joseph Moore, lives between Frost and Glade Hill. Near his residence the spot is pointed out where Rev Henry Arbogast was slain during the Civil War.

Hannah Moore, daughter of Moses, was married to Abram Duffield, on Stony Creek, the ancestor of the Pocahontas Duffields.

Phebe Moore, another daughter, became Mrs Jonathan McNeill on Swago. She was a person highly esteemed for her piety, sound sense, and business energy. For yearst she attended the mill, one of the best of its kind at that time,—in the twenties and thirties. Sometimes that mill would have to run day and night, to supply the custom and avoid grinding on the Sabbath day. There used to be a saying that "an honest miller has hair on the palm of his right hand." Were this a fact, Aunt Phebe's right hand would have been more hairy than Esau's would have been.

There was a Rebecca Moore, who was married to a Mr Cole, and lived in Rockbridge.

### The Sons of Moses Moore.

Robert married a Miss McCollam and lived at Edray where William Sharp now lives. Rev Geo. P. Moore is a great grandson of Moses Moore, also Samuel B. Moore, both residents of Edray.

Aaron Moore lived on the Greenbrier, three or four miles above Marlinton. His wife was Catherine Johnson, daughter of John Johnson, who lived on the Jericho Place, a mile north of Marlinton. Charles L. Moore, on Brown's Creek, and Jacob S. Moore, on Elk, are great-grandsons of Moses Moore, the pioneer.

Moses Moore, Jr., emigrated to Kentucky.

William Moore married Christina Dods, of Rockbridge County, and lived on Stony Creek on the place now occupied by the family of the late Dr Page Carter.

Their daughter, Margaret, became the wife of the late Colonel John W. Ruckman of Mill Point.

Another daughter, Jennie, was married to Captain William D. Hefner, who died in battle at Lewisburg during the War.

Their son, Rev James E. Moore, was a widely known Methodist minister.

John Moore, another son of the pioneer, married a Miss McClung, of Greenbrier County, and settled at Mt Vernon, Knapp's Creek. Their daughter Jennie married John Lightner, near Hightown, Highland County. Another daughter, Elizabeth, became Mrs Jacob Lightner, and lived where the late Francis Dev-

er had his home. There was a son, John Moore, who died aged 18 years.

Isaac Moore, son of Moses, settled near the old home now occupied by I. B. Moore. His wife was Margaret Wilson, from the vicinity of the Old Stone Church, Augusta County. Their children were Chesley, Preston, Malinda, who became Mrs Samuel Harper; Washington, Matilda, who became Mrs John Baker; Isaac, Jr., and Moses.

Chesley married a daughter of the late Colonel John Hill, for whom Hillsboro was named. After her death Chesley married Miss Wanless, on Back Alleghany.

Andrew Washington Moore first married Anna, daughter of Henry Harper, of Sunset, and settled on a part of the Knapp's Creek homestead. His second marriage was with Margaret Jane, daughter of the late John Dever, of Highland County.

Isaac Moore, Jr., lived at Dunmore. He and a citizen named Dunkum bought from Andrew G. Mathews his fine farm, and divided it. Out of their names they jointly coined the word Dunmore and so named the postoffice, which had been previously named Mathews-ville. Isaac Moore married Alcinda Arbogast, daughter of the late William Arbogast of Green Bank. Their daughters are Mrs George H. Moffett, of Parkersburg; and the late Mrs Dr Charles L. Austin of Green Bank. Their sons are C. Forrest, Harry, Ernest, and Rice. Ernest is Sheriff of Pocahontas County. Judge C. Forrest Moore resides at Covington, Va. He presided at the trial of Goodman for fatally shooting, at Gladys' Inn, Va., Colonel Parsons, the proprietor of the Nat-

ural Bridge. At present he is Attorney for the Covington Paper Mills. He has been largely instrumental in bringing the varied resources of our county into practical notice. Forrest Depot is named for him.

Moses Moore lived on the home place. His wife was Isabella, a daughter of Thomas Campbell of Highland County, and still survives her lamented husband, who was a person eminent for his christian character. She has her home with her son I. Brown Moore, who was recently (98-99) a member of the West Virginia Legislature.

The study of pioneer history is deeply interesting, and very beneficial when the reader traces the lines of descent, and duly reflects upon the contrast of what has been and what is now. By doing so intelligently, we are prepared to some extent to realize what is due the memory of those whose bravery, industry, and selfnential made it possible for us to have the comforts we now enjoy.

As long as the Moores retain their characteristic industry, prudent economy, honesty in their dealings, and pious proclivities, they will be a blessing to our county in the future, as they have been in the past, and are now.

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### RICHARD HILL.

Richard Hill, whose ancestral blood courses the veins of a great many worthy citizens, now claims our special notice in this paper. It is generally believed he came to this region soon after the armies of the Rev-

# The Old Mother and Her Army: The Agitative Strategies of Mary Harris Jones

By Pat Creech Scholten

**"M**OTHER Jones' is one of the most forceful and picturesque figures in the labor movement," Clarence Darrow wrote in 1925.<sup>2</sup> Remembered by militant unionists and recently discovered by a new generation of radicals, Mary Harris Jones continues to be a popular heroine today.<sup>3</sup> During her fifty years as a labor organizer, she created a sensation wherever she went. Her activities and jailings even into her eighties won her wide newspaper coverage. "She captured the imagination of American workers as no other woman has yet done," Tim Tippet, a chronicler of the labor movement, wrote.<sup>4</sup> To her enemies, she was "an anarchist," "a she-devil," "a stormy petrel of labor," "grandmother of agitators," and "the most dangerous woman in America." To one admiring observer she was "a dynamic, go-to-hell type with a bagful of tricks and a vocabulary that caused many a mule skinner to hang his head in shame . . . ."<sup>5</sup>

Delighting in her "hell-cat" image, Mother Jones lived up to her name. Once introduced by a professor as "a great humanitarian," she quickly corrected him. "Git it right," she interrupted. "I'm not a humanitarian. I'm a hell-raiser." But to the working classes, she

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Pat Creech Scholten, Ph.D., Indiana University. This article is based upon a paper presented at the 61st Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, December 27-30, 1975. Mother Jones is one of five women studied in Ms. Scholten's dissertation, "Militant Women for Economic Justice: The Persuasion of Mary Harris Jones, Ella Reeve Bloor, Rose Schneiderman, Rose Pastor Stokes, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn."

<sup>2</sup> Born Cork, Ireland, 1830; died Silver Spring, Maryland, 1930. Her career as a labor organizer began with the Knights of Labor in the 1870s. Her organizing activities with UMWA and as an independent "walking delegate" continued until the 1920s when she was in her nineties. She is primarily identified with striking miners of Colorado and West Virginia, although she worked with mill, railroad, and streetcar workers or wherever there was "a good fight against wrong." *The Autobiography of Mother Jones*, edited by Mary Field Parton and with a foreword by Clarence Darrow, was recently reissued, with an introduction and bibliography by Fred Thompson (Chicago, 1972). A recent biography is *Mother Jones, the Miner's Angel: A Portrait* by Dale Fetherling (Carbondale, Illinois, 1974). See also *The Dictionary of American Biography* and the *Encyclopedia of Social Science*.

<sup>3</sup> Foreword, *Jones, Autobiography*, xxi.

<sup>4</sup> *New York Times*, 23 April 1972, p. 1, reports that pop posters in Appalachia feature not Dennis Hopper or Che Guevara, but Mother Jones. "Now her words and images are being used to help a new generation of Appalachians struggle toward a common movement or experience." Two publications which reflect this new interest are: *Thoughts of Mother Jones Compiled from Her Writings and Her Speeches*, ed. by Joe Aronson (Waco, Virginia, 1970) and *Mother Jones in Appalachia* by Keith Dix (Denver: Radical Education Project) a reprint of an article which originally appeared in *People's Appalachia*, June-July, 1970.

<sup>5</sup> *Encyclopedia of Social Science*, Vol. 8, 415.

<sup>6</sup> Boston B. Brewster, *Out of the Depths* (Denver, 1942), 32.

was the revered "Mother" who had adopted the workers as her "children" when her own family had been lost in an epidemic. Her place of residence was "wherever there is a good fight against wrong,"<sup>6</sup> an expression of her philosophy of life as well as her Manichean penchant for black-or-white absolutes. Her motto: "Pray for the dead and fight like hell for the living."

### Mistress of Epithet

Contemporaries of Mother Jones refer to her "salty language" (she herself termed it "classic" or "classic French") and her easy use of "Hell . . . with no more effort than she said 'ethyer' or 'nyther.'"<sup>7</sup> She once told Frank Walsh, the Chairman of the House of Representatives' Commission on Industrial Relations, "When I get worked up, I am not a very polite character."<sup>8</sup> In fact, the most distinguishing feature of the rhetoric of this grandmotherly Victorian woman, who dressed in black silk and white lace, was her use of the derogatory epithet. She could not resist punctuating her remarks with epithets and epigrams even in the presence of Presidents. Theodore Roosevelt, the only President who refused to see her, did not escape. She often spoke of "Teddy, the monkey chaser," suggesting a President more interested in African *safaris* than the needs of American workers. Thus, by the standards of the times, she earned her own epithet: "the profane Joan of Arc."

Mother Jones' gift for memorable epithets originated in her rather simplistic view of the world, shaped by her long experience as a labor organizer. Her world was made up of two kinds of people: "poor working people who love truth" and those whom she labeled "enemies of my class." Most of her epithets were impersonal and could be applied indiscriminately to the "money powers" and their hired officials who interfered with "her boys." She often spoke of "Rockefeller's gang of thieves," "high class burglars [capitalists]," "pirates," "plutocrats," "Judas Iscariots," "vulchers [vultures]," "Steel Kings," "two-by-four lawyers," "sanctified cannibals," "sewer rats," and assorted "dogs"—"company lap dogs," "Little poodle dogs,"

<sup>6</sup> Her answer to Chairman Frank P. Walsh, Commission on Industrial Relations, when he asked, "Where do you reside?" U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Labor, *Hearings on Industrial Disputes in Colorado and Michigan*, 63rd Congress, 1st session, 1912, 10614.

<sup>7</sup> *New York Times*, December 1, 1930, 25.

<sup>8</sup> U.S. House of Representatives Hearings, 19025.



"dogs of war," "bloodhounds," and "curs." Wives of the "money powers" were called self-indulgent "parasites"—"a group of damn cats." She was less caustic toward "poor little sheriffs," "little peg-leg squires," "Sunday-school fellows," and "lickspittles." Inspired by her stylistic genius, her enemies replied in kind.

### Her Agitative Strategies

Mother Jones' hell-raising strategies had two aims: to bolster the spirits and goals of the working classes and to expose their exploitation by management. In its tribute to Mother Jones upon her death at age one hundred, the *New York Times* concluded, "Hers were the methods of a pioneer."<sup>9</sup> Exploiting settings and circumstances, she needed no handbook for revolution; she devised her strategies intuitively and on the spot. She shocked the senses and aroused the emotions. One of her most frightening expressions was "I think I will arrange a little publicity." Admiring newspapermen usually were happy to oblige.

The rhetorical vehicles of Mother Jones generally fall into four categories: "Pageants of poverty," public encounters with management and law officials; public speeches, and writings, including letters to friends and associates in the labor movement, letters from jail, and late in her long life, a dramatic autobiography. Although her activities have been the subject of several historical studies, the nature and effect of her agitative and rhetorical strategies have not been considered.<sup>10</sup> This topic will be the focus of this discussion.

Perhaps Mother Jones is best remembered for what the *New York Times* called "her special faculty . . . the arrangement of what might be called pageants of poverty, processions of the ill-used."<sup>11</sup> Her most famous was the twenty-two day "March of the Mill Children" in which she led mill-mangled children on a 125 mile march to Oyster Bay, the summer home of President Theodore Roosevelt, to publicize the immorality of child labor.<sup>12</sup> During her speeches at stops along the way, she would hold up a sickly or mangled child, and

<sup>9</sup> *New York Times*, December 1, 1930, 23.

<sup>10</sup> See "Crusade for Child Laborers: 'Mother Jones' and the March of the Mill Children," *Pennsylvania History*, 38 (July 1971), 283-296, by C. K. McFarland and "Mother Jones on the Fairmount Field, 1902," *Journal of American History*, September 1970, 286-297, by Edward Sorel.

<sup>11</sup> *New York Times*, December 1, 1930, 23.

<sup>12</sup> 4000 men, women and children left Kensington, Pennsylvania, July 7, 1903, according to Featherling's account. By July 29, the party had dwindled to six, including three children. They were turned away by guards. Featherling, 48-57.

she once arranged the children in an empty circus wagon to show their bondage, demonstrating her resourcefulness. Some of her pageants included a dishpan brigade, mop-and-broom brigades, the singing-mothers-wailing-babies jail disruption tactic, and her own numerous marches at the head of striking miners. Each pageant invited confrontations, jailings, and publicity.

Mother Jones relished her public role as tormentor of the oppressor class. Each occasion gave her an opportunity to exercise her gift for invective and to demonstrate her sharp wit. Much of her later fame rests on her fearless verbal exchanges in these encounters, which she enjoyed recalling. Of course, in her version, Mother Jones was always heroine of the day; her oppressors, outwitted and left speechless, could only jail her. Aside from the "money powers," she regarded many who opposed her as wayward children, especially the "boys of the militia" whom she considered as members of the working classes; she often gave them apples and shared her food with them. Their officers she regarded in another light. "Don't come back," a stern Captain warned her as he put her aboard a train for Denver. "If I don't feel like it, I won't," said Mother Jones.<sup>13</sup>

Her quick wit and resourcefulness were as evident in her public speeches as in her public encounters. Throughout her long career, she spoke before many audiences: coal miners on strike, labor leaders at miner's conventions, suffragists, judges, congressmen, and in private meetings with Presidents and governors. By necessity, she had learned to speak extemporaneously and to use the materials at hand for her invention. While speaking on the steps of the Capitol in West Virginia, her eye fell on the inscription in the steps: "Mountaineers are always free." Mother Jones declared: "Now, I want to state right here to this audience that we are going to make that good or we will tear up that inscription."<sup>14</sup>

Her long experience and deeply held convictions made a script unnecessary. A *New York Times* reporter described her speaking before 500 suffragists in 1914: "Mother Jones spoke an hour and a half, and then read a few facts . . . 'There's going to be no speaking,' said Miss Leckie, who introduced her, 'and only one talk by the biggest woman in the world!' . . . Mother Jones started in, beginning with Rome, so it was not surprising that it took her nearly two hours

<sup>13</sup> U. S. House of Representatives Hearings, 10633.

<sup>14</sup> U. S. House of Representatives Hearings, 10629.

to tell the women all about it."<sup>15</sup> One suffragist questioned whether women could ensure free speech in the streets, as Mother Jones advocated, without the vote. Demonstrating her ability to compose a witty, memorable epigram on the spot, even at age eighty-four, Mother Jones answered "cheerfully": "I have no vote . . . and I've raised hell all over this country."<sup>16</sup>

The wit of Mother Jones took a different turn when she spoke to the "uncomfortable" as opposed to the "comfortable" suffragists. Speaking to striking coal miners caught in a life-or-death situation, her analogies and epigrams took on an elevated seriousness. An example of her eloquence in a trying situation was a speech she gave at a convention of quarreling miners of the northern and southern coal fields of Colorado. In her autobiography she relates the speech: "'Brothers,' I said, 'you English speaking miners of the northern fields promised your southern brothers, seventy per cent of whom do not speak English, that you would support them to the end. Now you are asked to betray them, to make a separate settlement . . . You are all miners, fighting a common cause, a common master. The iron heel feels the same to all flesh. Hunger and suffering and the cause of your children bind more closely than a common tongue . . .'"<sup>17</sup>

But it took the "damnable, infamous" conditions of the Paint Creek District coal fields of West Virginia in 1912 to arouse Mother Jones to the total indignation she needed to reach her peak as an orator in her fifty years as a labor organizer.<sup>18</sup> Mine operators' use of armed guards to deny miners freedom of speech and assembly along public roads and places, the twenty-five murders of guards and citizens, and assaults on women brought Mother Jones hurrying to "medieval West Virginia." On the Charleston levee, she addressed the miners in a speech that "veered close to violence," a charge she usually denied.<sup>19</sup> One eyewitness described Mother Jones and her audience: "She might have been any coal miner's wife ablaze with

<sup>15</sup> *New York Times*, 23 May 1914, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Jones, *Autobiography*, 99.

<sup>17</sup> Follathin makes this assessment, 91.

<sup>18</sup> Despite the violence associated with striking miners, Mother Jones was a firm believer in law and order. Commissioner Harris Weinstock of the House of Representatives' Commission on Industrial Relations once questioned her closely on two conflicting statements, one she had just made to him favoring law and order and a second, allegedly made from the steps of the statehouse in Charleston, West Virginia, wherein she said: "We will protect ourselves and buy every gun in Charleston." Mother Jones did not deny the first statement but felt justified in seeking to protect striking miners from hostile guards. See House of Representatives *Hearings*, 10643. The *New York Times*, December 1, 1910, 23, wrote of her: "If she fought violence with violence in days that now seem so remote and cruel, it was not from any belief in it."



righteous fury when her brood was in danger. Her voice shrilled as she shook her fist at the coal operators, the mine guards, the union officials . . . She prayed and cursed and pleaded, raising her clenched and trembling hands, asking heaven to bear witness. She wore long, very full skirts and a black shawl and her tiny bonnet bobbed up and down as she harangued the crowd. The miners love it and laughed, cheered, hooted, and even cried as she spoke to them."<sup>20</sup>

Two weeks later, on August 15, 1912, Mother Jones and three to four hundred miners assembled at the Courthouse steps in Charleston to present Governor William E. Glasscock with a demand calling for an end to guard rule.<sup>21</sup> Surrounded by banners which read "Nero fiddled while Rome burned. That is what the governor of West Virginia is doing" and "No Russia for us. To hell with the guard system," Mother Jones delivered what was to become her most famous speech.<sup>22</sup> In this "resolute and imaginative speech"<sup>23</sup> lasting one-and-one-half hours, she poured the full power of her tiny frame and eighty-three years into an attack on the tyranny of the ruling class. That day would mark history with "an uprising of the oppressed against the master class,"<sup>24</sup> she promised. "Mother" and "her boys" were in full agreement; she was interrupted at least fifty-seven times by applause, laughter, and shouts of "yes, Mother."

Caught up in the excitement of the crowd, Mother Jones led her listeners through a wide range of topics and emotions. She drew laughter with her imitation of the mine owners' wives talking to their dogs: "I love you, dea-h." The audience quieted down when she opined that the origin of the labor movement was "a command from God Almighty." Once, she abruptly stopped and peered into the crowd: "Say, are you an operator, with that cigar in your grub?" She quoted Kipling, but was not sure if he were a colonel or general in the British Army. She spoke of her long experience in the labor movement. "I am not speaking haphazard," she said. "I have the

<sup>20</sup> This account was given by Ralph Chaplin, I.W.W. leader and Socialist editor, who was on the same program that day with Mother Jones, Fetherling, 87.

<sup>21</sup> The next year Mother Jones estimated her audience to be "about 5000 people." See U. S. House of Representatives Hearings, 10629.

<sup>22</sup> Perhaps because it is the most readily available speech with its full text printed at the end of *Some Hearings*. See U. S. Senate Sub-Committee on Education and Labor, *Hearings on Conditions in the West Coast District, West Virginia, 63rd Congress, 1st session, 1913, 2245-2275*. *Shirley* cited in U. S. Senate Hearings.

<sup>23</sup> Fetherling, 85.

<sup>24</sup> Although the speeches in her later years were filled with Socialist jargon, Mother Jones was "attracted to Socialism, the I.W.W. which she helped found, and Bolshevism," according to her obituary in the *New York Times* (December 1, 1930, 21). Her biographer, Shaw, collecting notes that she was a socialist, but not a Socialist. "She was an individual without an affiliation." Fetherling, 77.